:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Pukapukan food is invariably dry food that can be divided into separate shares without the aid of food containers other than the coconut platter and coconut shell. This sharing pattern leads to the grumbling of the *kaitangi*, the person who thinks he has been given less than his rightful share of food in the food division, whether of household or village feast. There are many references in the stories to trouble caused by people who were *kaitangi*. To a person who grumbles about his food, the classic reply is, "Wano koe aumai te kaitangi no Yele" (Go and get the food share that did not satisfy Yele), the implication being that even if the *kaitangi's* food shares were as large as Yele's in the story (1), he would still be dissatisfied. In another story, that of Watu-manava-nui, it is the dissatisfaction of Kumawawine that leads her to betray her own Yayake people to the Tongan warriors, with the result that all her people, including herself, were killed by the Tongans and Pukapukans. The person who grumbles over his share of nuts is told, "Wano koe ki te niu o Totoloa" (Go to the nut tree of Totoloa). This refers to the god Totoloa's magical tree from which a nut was picked, eaten, and then put together again and thrown into the tree, where it flourished as before.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Because old age does not bring with it fear of economic insecurity, there is no incentive to hoard wealth. Old people are cared for by children and relatives, and no one ever suffers from lack of food or shelter. The life of the lazy man might be materially easy, but he would suffer much through ridicule; there would be few whose pride could stand the blow of being allotted only a child's share of food. It is noteworthy that laziness never enters as a theme of stories.

The village of Ngake makes more copra than the other villages and each person in Ngake receives slightly more money from the proceeds of the semi-annual sale of copra than do the people of the other villages, but this does not mean that the increased wealth of Ngake villagers can be used to tyrannize over the other two villages. The money is spent on clothes or tobacco and increases personal prestige, not economic power.

The economic system is so well integrated with environment and social structure that it has stood firm under the impact of an alien culture when other aspects of Pukapukan society have been lost. Needs are well provided for, individual skill is appreciated, insecurity is absent, and the accumulation of wealth has for its end redistribution in the interests of increased prestige. Minor flaws in the system come from occasional inequalities in food distribution; these are temporary and never serious enough to disrupt the functioning of the major patterns, which draw their strength from the basic social structure.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

waited there for the hurricane season, and, as is demonstrated by their star course, then sailed back to Pukapuka with a beam wind.

The only possible way for a Pukapukan navigator to reach Tahiti from Pukapuka would be to make easting in short journeys from island to island, in high equatorial latitudes, during November or December, wait, say, at Tongareva, for a mild northerly wind, and then make more easting before the wind shifted back to west so that he was in a position to sail the rest of the way to Tahiti with a beam wind. Mr. Frisbie regards this as possible on paper but difficult in actual fact. A return voyage from Tahiti to Pukapuka would not be so difficult. It might take about 10 days or more under favorable conditions, though it might be relatively hard to make a landfall at Pukapuka.

Pukapukan traditions speak of several voyages to and from Yayake. In the light of the above-mentioned navigational difficulties and the fact that the Yayake people in their immigration to Pukapuka landed and settled on the southern side of Motu Ko, it is perhaps justifiable to assume that Yayake was not to the east of Pukapuka, but somewhere to the south or west. This would lead to the suggestion that Yayake lay in the direction of Tonga, and it is quite within the realm of possibility that this is the old Pukapukan name for an island there or for one of the Fijian islands.

MASTER IDEAS OF PUKAPUKAN CULTURE

The key to the patterns of social organization is to be found in a brief analysis of the master ideas or controlling motifs of Pukapukan culture. These are both extraverted and realistic. The realistic construct of the culture is evident in social patterns, in myth, story, chant, and in everyday life. Thus, when the Pukapukan has occasion to greet an old, sick woman, hobbling along the village road, he remarks: "Where are you going, lady, you with your sickly and crippled walk?" There is no felt need to gloss over the situation and insinuate, as with us, that all is for the best and that even a semi-invalid is walking better each day. Again, when one asks an old man, obviously soon about to die, to name his descent lineage, more often than not the question one puts is: "Where are they going to bury you, old man, when you die in a day or so?" No offence is ever taken at the apparent crudity of such questioning; the old man is fully cognizant of the fact of death and is able realistically to face it and joke about it. This is in line with the general Pukapukan attitude toward death; it is one of extreme realism, not at all one of fear, though fear may come later when it is suspected that spirits of the dead are malicious trouble makers. Again, Pukapukan humor concerns itself almost exclusively with either the functioning of physiological processes in other than the appropriate social situation,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

[522] 181 or with the exaggerated functioning of these processes in normal situations.

Realism reaches its full development in the realm of sex. The contents of chants and stories and the behavior of children are proof of this. One of the most difficult tasks of the resident agent in his capacity as school teacher is to check the lack of inhibition in the speech of children within school.

Cultural extraversion allows for great display of individual prowess in typical extraverted activities such as fishing, sports, games, and lovemaking. Economic patterns which necessitate group work for the good of the household or village act as a check, but this work is often competitive and places a premium on individual skill if the household or village is to triumph over competing groups. States of typical hysterical dissociation were formerly common among priests and medicine men when consulting lineage gods.

181 554 521 152 In general, little check is placed on individual prowess and a man is honored for displaying his abilities. In the reciting of chants that symbolize triumph over another village or grief felt for a departed member of the community, wild movements, loud weeping, and hysterical displays of emotion are common and proper. Good taste also permits conversation or oratory to be accompanied by vigorous body movements, gestures, and intense dramatization of climactic moments. People are noisy in conversation (unless prudence dictates the whisper); they enjoy loud laughter and shouting back and forth to each other. Children, too, when not subdued by elders or by the presence of white people, engage in noisy games, in which singing and excited movement are appropriate. There are of course a few individuals who do not conform to this pattern. But in the matter of deciding what is good taste, this characterization is not false to the cultural ideal.

181 885 517 The chief virtues for the man are those grouped around technical excellence at craft and other economic activities, and skill at lovemaking. Those for the woman parallel these: they are economic and craft virtues, virtues of physical excellence and bodily strength, and again, skill at lovemaking. It is to be noted that these activities are extraverted feeling activities. Along with them goes an appreciation of, and single-minded attention to, the cultivation of the senses. The culture is sensuous but not sensual. The chants are full of explicit reference to the beauty of the human body as tested by sight, smell, and feeling, to the love of flowers and plants, to the keen joy in the slightest beauty of the physical environment. This cultivation of 181 feeling, a cultivation which is hardy and vigorous and in no sense to be equated with the pale vision of the esthete, reaches its highest development 831 in the symbolism of sexual intercourse. Around the sexual act itself has been constellated a naturalistic play activity and delight in associations derived from close study of nature that render the Pukapukan interest in this major fact of life one that is the reverse of the gross and sensual. The Pukapukan

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

181/831 is not interested in platonic love. It is extremely doubtful if it would be possible to explain to him just what such a concept involves.

For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to sex. Whatever the purpose of a chant, whether to glorify a fishing triumph, to grieve over a departed relative, to recite physical and individual skills, all come sooner or later to the fact of sex; and triumphs and skills are woven harmoniously into a context that stresses the greatest joys of Pukapukan life. It is just this cultural patterning that makes Pukapukan culture difficult for a European to comprehend, let alone to appreciate by an effort of feeling. It is this patterning also that makes all chants and stories difficult to translate. They belong to another world of action, feeling, and ideal, widely at variance with our own. But to appreciate this atoll culture is to enrich our knowledge of the wide gamut of characteristic configuration provided by the kaleidoscope of primitive societies.

CULTURAL AFFINITIES

181 A brief summary of the material presented in this report will indicate the main affinities of Pukapukan culture. It is important to stress the simplifications inevitably produced in Pukapuka by the limitations of an atoll environment. This is most noticeable in material culture (witness the absence of bark-cloth manufacture) but environmental influences also affect social organization. Absence of kava means the non-development of elaborate kava ceremonial; limitations in food resources mean that much time must be spent by both men and women in procuring food. A consequent lack of leisure has not been conducive perhaps to the development of a leisure class of chiefs who could afford the luxury of supporting skilled artisans and craftsmen.

[461]

171 A cursory comparison of Pukapukan material culture with that of Polynesia as a whole indicates that Pukapuka shares largely in prominent elements common to both eastern and western Polynesia. Associations of Pukapukan material culture with elements found only in the west or only in the east are relatively small. A comparison with Handy's list (15) indicates that Pukapukan culture is preponderantly early Polynesian, and shares only secondarily in elements supposed to be characteristic of Handy's *arii* culture.

However, relationships with Samoa and other western islands are relatively close. Bonito fishing and the type bonito hook resemble Samoan patterns. Samoa has many fish traps and Pukapuka few, but Pukapuka has elaborated techniques of deep-sea and surface fishing with baited hooks that are foreign to Samoa. In hunting, the use of spring traps is common to Pukapuka and the west; in fowling, Pukapuka has the bird net, but not the decoy bird. The fowling line is shared with islands farther west than Samoa. Wet-land taro cultivation without irrigation is common to both

539 lineage of Palakula would be wiped out collectively in punishment for this death. The high chief came for his revenge. He insisted on death or exile. Palakula and his lineage chose exile. They prepared their double canoes, bequeathed their properties to groups that remained and sailed to the Matoyia ocean. None has heard of them since and they were all eaten by sharks it is thought.

The making of culture heroes

538 773 The following group of stories defies any simple classification. The first story recounts the testing of the chief Tuliayanga by the gods.

Of Tuliayanga

539 The gods were annoyed with Tuliayanga's boasts of his prowess as a netter of flying fish and decided to put his powers to the test. Tuliayanga went fishing one night with a fleet of flying fish canoes. The gods arranged for one flying fish (malolo) to fly straight through the air to the chief's eye, while another fish was to go through the air, aiming directly for his testicles. The gods thought that if the chief was not so skilled with the use of the net as he thought, he would be confused by the two fish and suffer serious injury through failure to net them. When the canoes were over the flying fish shoal, the two fish flew through the air in the direction of Tuliayanga. Many men tried to net them but failed. The chief was quicker than the others and with a double sweep of his net caught both fish before they touched him. The gods then conceded he had a right to boast of his skill.

Pakula

The story of Pakula illustrates the dangers besetting the bonito fishing canoe. Pakula lived five generations after the [181] seismic wave. An interesting example of cultural psychology is the first remark of Pakula on escaping death and safely landing on Motu Kotawa. The implication clearly is: now we have been saved from death, we can get back to the real business of living once more.

Pakula was a man of Matanga lineage. He was charged with fishing for the group of old men. He and his crew went fishing one day. Coming back to the reef the waves were breaking so furiously that his crew were afraid to attempt the passage. Pakula poked fun at their fears and the canoe was sent whirling onward. Overtaken by a wave, the canoe was smashed and the men thrown into the water. Then was the time for the crew to taunt Pakula for his rashness.

539 flesh was cut from it for food, the land of Uea had food supplies that increased with its eating. The crew composed this chant about Uea which is remembered to this day:

Uea is a land of food,
We stayed there, as in other islands,
Persistent to the last like Lua-tulivae. (15)
Stayed there we of the canoe Te Takapau-o-te-Moyoaliki,
We could not finish the food of Uea!

Stories of Voyaging

538 181 The life of the Pukapukan is inevitably bound up with the sea. It surrounds him at all times. From it he draws much of his food. Over it he gained a measure of control in former times by the worshipping of his gods. On it he voyaged to many distant islands. It is just as inevitable therefore that stories telling of the adventures of voyaging Pukapukans should be popular, especially if they have a humorous appeal.

Of Welei

The account of this voyage is both improbable and characteristically very human according to Pukapukan standards. It was told in all seriousness by informants in sessions devoted to traditional and historical accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka.

539 Welei was a man of Yato village. His chief activity was the nightly seeking of women. But the women rejected his advances. When he moved to their sides they spat on him and kicked him away. Welei was also a priest, and his god was ashamed that his worshipper was treated thus. The god told Welei that if he persisted in his desire for women then he should climb into the god's coconut leaflet canoe. Welei did this and was transported to Nuku-mautole (Island-of-many-vulvas).

This land was inhabited by women only. The foot of Welei had hardly stepped on shore when the women rushed for him. They piled on top of him, five women on each foot, then women on each finger, eight each on his nose and ears and

15. The reference to Lua-tulivae in this chant is somewhat obscure. The story of Lua-tulivae is given earlier. As this individual persistently made his way through all of nine fires before he was safely dead, so apparently did the crew of this canoe show stubborn determination in their attack on the food supplies of the island.

533 has provided a socially approved outlet for feelings of aggres-
154 sion and hatred. The glorification of the individual which is
578 implicit in the controlling patterns of Pukapukan society is evident also in the love chants and these too, have provided socially approved channels for the expression of sentiments of love and affection that might otherwise not find outlet in the somewhat matter of fact behavior which characterizes the relations between the sexes. It is no exaggeration to say that an ability to understand and feel all that is implied in the chants is the best possible way of gaining an appreciation of native Pukapukan culture. They literally provide a source book to the ideals and practices of this culture.

533 After each of the fishing competitions held during our visit, and during the sports competitions held at the New Year, each village composed and sang special chants celebrating its victories. In the fishing competitions for instance, on the night before the big public feast marking the conclusion of the fishing, men, women, and children of the winning village gathered together on the village meeting ground just after dusk and practiced throughout the night until dawn old and new chants in preparation for the public chanting on the last day. Again during the visit of the villages to the reserves to prepare copra, one or more nights each week was devoted by the adults of Ngake village to the learning of new chants and the practicing of old ones. These chant practices were alter-
[181] nated with nights of Christian hymn singing. The contrast provided between the sentiments of the more popular Christian hymns and the vigorous paganism of old chants symbolizes in striking fashion the apposition of ideals that characterizes Pukapukan society today.

Dancing

535 Two types of dancing, one old, the other new, are in vogue
527 in Pukapuka today. The modern type known by the Rarotongan
[177] name upaupa, is said to be derived from Tahiti and is performed by children on all occasions and by adults at Christmas time. On Christmas day, the men (or women, in alternate years) of each village form dancing teams which visit in turn each of the other two villages, where they are entertained by the women (or men) of the village for whom they dance on the village meeting place. The dancers are grouped in four lines facing a leader who sets rhythm and movements. As the dancing proceeds women join the group and dance opposite the men, files of women alternating with files of men. After dancing, the visitors are given a feast, and then move to the next village to repeat

524 first at the tuku in the ala. If he hits both tuku, he may try
177 for his opponents' tamou and if he hits this also, then he wins this. If he misses the first time, then his opponent shoots with his tamou.

The toy bow and arrow is used as children's sport today. The bow is made with tua niu bound together with continuous thread of lauwala. The bow string is uka. The arrows, ti, are tua niu. The bow is wena. A heap of puapua seeds is put in the center of the ring. Children sit in a circle and fire arrows at the seeds. Each seed impaled by the arrow counts one point to the child who shot the arrow. No game was played during our visit, but was described thus by informants.

181 Miscellaneous.
888 For the man, it is important to marry and have children, that the paternal descent line may be continued. For himself and the next generation, a man likes to have a house, one or more canoes. He may sow sexual wild oats in abundance in his youth, and this applies also to the women. But in old age, the ideal is to live to a ripe old age, and then to retire from active work, to be surrounded by a crowd of children and grandchildren, and to spend one's days in active talk with one's contemporaries, directing the activities of the lopa group.

539 [See 3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 65--analyst.] As the men advance with the canoe cortege outside the reef, mako and wave the paddles, the following mako is the one that is sung:

E lapaki te woe alua ma no
Kateli ka kina yai yo yio
Ke te ta ko yio yio
Ke tangi te titi oyio yio
Ke tangi te lawa oyio yio
Koa lelei ka koa lelei ka
Taku pupune ia.....

621 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 221--analyst] In the case
591 of matrilocal residence of the male, or even in the case of customary patrilocal residence, the man may wish to tau [affiliate] in the village of his wife. In the former case, residence takes care of itself, but in the latter case, he will continue to live patrilocally, but join his adopted village for play, copra making, food divisions, etc.

344 Today there is a tendency for the people to pull and eat the talo before the plant is fully mature and ready to eat, often

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

BRIEF PUKAPUKAN CASE HISTORY

BY ERNEST AND PEARL BEAGLEHOLE,
Wellington, New Zealand.

114 124 THE following case history is offered as a short commentary on courtship and marriage in Pukapuka.[1] Though it refers to contemporary adolescence, the freedom of youth that it unconsciously assumes represents both an old-time and modern approved (implicitly at least) social condition over which missionary teaching lies like a thin veneer that cracks at the slightest provocation.

114 124 181 The case history is very objective. Lua (all the names are pseudonyms) was simply asked to tell something of her childhood and life before and after marriage. The subjects that she has emphasised are entirely her own. They represent the approach to life of all Pukapukan women. The very objectivity of this document serves to make it entirely typical of the way any woman thinks about fundamental values in Pukapuka, though hardly of the way she acts. The Pukapukans are an extraverted people. They tend to live a life of vigorous action. It was impossible to get the informant to make any special effort to recall emotions or feeling-tones for salient situations in her life. The material she presents on adolescence is specially interesting, representing a type of behaviour in youthful sex-experience which is probably rare, sexual play, that is, which does not reach consummation. Perhaps there is here a personality difference which for some reason or other of childhood conditioning, obscure and unfathomable at this date, resulted in behaviour entirely different from that which was and is normal for maturing adolescents.

[21]

[1] Collected on Pukapuka (Danger Island). Dictated in the Pukapukan dialect to Pearl Beaglehole and freely translated by her. Pukapukan social organization is discussed in *Ethnology of Pukapuka*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 150, 1938, pp. 219-305. The map of Pukapuka (*Ethnology*, p. 18) may be consulted for place names referred to in this account.

10: Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1937 Pukapukans

EMOTIONAL RELEASE IN A POLYNESIAN COMMUNITY

By ERNEST BEAGLEHOLE
VICTORIA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, NEW ZEALAND

105 THE atoll of Pukapuka consists of three small islets strung on a coral ring. Apart from the tiny islet of Nassau, the nearest neighbor of Pukapuka is the Samoan Islands, some four hundred miles to the south. The total land area of the atoll [161] is less than one square mile. The population today numbers about five hundred people. In the past it was probably two or three times this number. For the most part, owing to the necessity of conserving food resources, all the people live on a small part of one islet only. The remainder of this islet and the other two islets are kept as food reserves visited only at times set by the controlling villages. The people are grouped into three villages, membership in which is by birth or by affiliation after birth.[1]

The year is roughly divided into two seasons. A season of fair weather with steady, cool, southeast trade winds lasts from March to November. From November on, the weather is marked by changeable and boisterous gales from the northwest. The average height of the land above sea level is about six feet. Hurricanes are infrequent, but when they do occur their effect is disastrous. Even without a hurricane, the time from November to March is one of ever-present anxiety and worry as to what the next day will bring forth. Since deep-sea fishing is difficult, this period is often marked by scarcity of both fish and plant foods.

105 [152] 156 ● 181 The culture of the people is on the whole characterized by extraverted tendencies. Times of birth, marriage and death are punctuated with violent outbursts of emotion that is allowed full expression in chanting, dancing and wailing. In individual behavior the society sets a premium on vigorous action whether in love, sport or everyday life. That man, or woman, is honored who shows exceptional excellence in any of these activities. The ideal is competitive to a degree. A man is happy if he can outstrip his fellows in love or sport and then boast of his exploits 156 578 in songs that he delights to chant. Naturally, for one to succeed,

[1] The social and economic organization of Pukapuka is described in *Formal Patterns of Pukapukan Culture*, by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, Bulletin in press, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii. [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole-analysis]